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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupían Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupían-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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The fishing grounds and the still productive fruit trees of the old villages were considered to be the domain of the Trumaí, and these rights were apparently respected by others. When the village moved in search of new land, it was usually to one of the old sites, whose name the new village would take.

The Trumaí were once feared by the other tribes of the upper Xingú and were evidently a relatively numerous and vigorous people. However, when Quain visited them in 1938, they numbered only 43, and only ten years later, in 1948, the population had shrunken to a meagre 25.[11] Their small numbers had forced them to abandon village life once since Quain's visit, but they subsequently reunited in a new community.[11a]

Warfare

The topography of the flat upper Xingú Basin encourages considerable contact between tribes. The waterways are extensive and have importance beyond subsistence, as they are the chief avenues of trade and warfare. Communication through the river and flood plain system is the main reason for the high degree of cultural homogeneity that has been achieved by these tribes of diverse origins and languages. Intertribal relations are not confined to trade and warfare, but enter the spheres of social organization, ceremonialism and mythology.

Intertribal bonds within the upper Xingú Basin were based on peaceful relations between the tribes. These tribes formed part of a bounded social system in which groups outside the area did not take part. The Bakairí Indians of the Paranatinga River were on a friendly basis with the headwaters groups only because they had once lived on the Batoví River. Other tribes were uniformly enemies, regardless of cultural or linguistic affinities. Despite this peaceful interaction among the upper Xingú villages, there was considerable mutual fear and hostility between them which was expressed in witchcraft, petty thievery and intimidation. The practice of sorcery upon other villages is especially significant, in that sorcery is used in nearly all cultures only between people who share close interpersonal ties. This illustrates better than anything else the high degree of intervillage integration in the upper Xingú River Basin. The component groups constitute far more than a culture area — they form a society.

Despite the nominal peace within the upper Xingú area, the Trumaí lived in dread of their neighbors, and with good reason.[12] Situated

[11] Oberg 1953, p. 4.

[11a] Latest reports state that a measles epidemic has wrought great havoc, and that the few survivors have all joined other groups.

[12] Although fear of neighboring groups is general in the upper Xingú, da Lima (1949, p. 25) noted it to be especially strong among the numerically weak Trumaí.

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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an intertribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1953, p. 469.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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frighten Quain, too. One of their favorite stories was that the Nahukwa chief, Aloike, was coming to take Quain. Aloike was a powerful sorcerer and had a reputation for treachery among all the tribes, and the Nahukwa were probably feared more because of him than because of any traditional enmity.

Wild tales were also told out of sheer perversity. A party of Kamayurá came to visit and announced that Quain's father would arrive in an airplane with gifts for the Trumaí. On another occasion they said that a plane full of *karahiba* (white men) had landed at the house of Thomas Young, an American missionary who lived further up the Kuliseu.

The Trumaí, themselves, aggravated their own fears. One of them spoke at length in the men's circle on how the Kamayurá tortured their captives by piercing their arms and legs with arrow points. He also said that they beheaded them, stirred up their brains over a fire, and ate them. This was undoubtedly a false story born of fear and contrary to all the more reliable information on the treatment of captives. However, torture and ritual cannibalism of this sort once flourished in the tropical forest. It is, therefore, interesting that the Trumaí should know of such practices.

Due to the constant fear of surprise attack shared by all the tribes, it was considered bad policy to enter foreign territory without giving warning. This was done by building a fire. A party from the village then went out to investigate, unless it was definitely known who the intruders were. If a fire was seen by a traveling party, their canoes were beached and an answering fire was built.

Surprise meetings were to be avoided at all costs. When Quain was traveling on the Kuliseu with a Trumaí group, the sight of a Kamayurá canoe caused some concern. The chief was quite happy to note that Quain left his rifle in the bottom of the boat, thereby giving a peaceable appearance.

According to Dyott, an English explorer who descended the Xingú in 1938, arrows planted point first in the ground were "no trespassing" signs.[15] He also said that whistling arrows were shot in the air to warn strangers to stay away. The latter sign was, more accurately, an additional means of letting one's presence be known. Smoke spirals seen to the north or east always caused a great disturbance in the Trumaí village, as these were thought to be Suyá fires. Since the upper Xingú people approached from the south, fires seen in this direction caused little alarm unless there had been rumors of some aggressive act by the Kamayurá or Nahukwa.

Fear of attack at times approached the point of hysteria. The high tension might last a few days, after which it would decline to the normal

[15] Dyott 1930, pp. 283–84.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[14] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[14] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapiti, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapiti settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapiti have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[15] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[15] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [591] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kulisehe River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

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Visits might be made to obtain a bride, engage in trade, participate in some intertribal ceremony, or for a combination of any of these reasons. Most visits were ostensibly of a purely social nature, but they were also used to frighten and impress. Stealing was frequent, especially when the host tribe, like the Trumaí, was weak. The Trumaí rarely protested against thefts while the visitors were still in the village, although they vehemently expressed their indignation later. Such discretion was due more to fear than etiquette.

The inferior position of the Trumaí was most evident when visitors were in the village. The Kamayurá, especially, treated the Trumaí with arrogance and contempt. At times they would enter the Trumaí village without having built the customary warning fire. The Trumaí, on the other hand, did everything possible to please their visitors and prove their generosity and good will toward them. Quain was berated by the Trumaí chief for being too niggardly toward the Kamayurá, and he found that greater respect was accorded to the Kamayurá chief than to either himself or the Trumaí chief. The Kamayurá felt slighted that Quain had not visited them instead of the contemptible Trumaí, and, when Quain went to meet the visiting Kamayurá chief, the latter turned away with an air of bored indifference.

The Kamayurá chief was immediately given a stool to sit on and was plied with cigarettes. When he threw one away after a few puffs, he was promptly given another. Deference was also paid to ordinary Kamayurá, although to a lesser degree. Once when such a member came to the Trumaí village alone, the man who received him rushed to Quain's house to borrow a chair in order to reach some tobacco which had been placed on a high shelf. He was in a great hurry, for it would not be good to keep his guest waiting.

This behavior stands in sharp contrast to a visit to the Kamayurá village made by Quain and a party of Trumaí. The chief delegated their reception to his brother. No special attention was paid to them, although the villagers were active and industrious in an apparent effort to impress. The Trumaí were not even asked to sit on the log in the village center.

Due to the extensive intertribal relations, command of a language besides one's own is common in the area generally. But since Trumaí is an independent tongue and the number of Trumaí small, it is probable that multilingual people were more frequent among them than in other tribes. Their "second" language was usually Kamayurá, but few outsiders spoke Trumaí, although more understood it. When Kamayurá came to visit, conversation was ordinarily in their tongue. Of the three foreign women in the Trumaí village, only the Suyá woman could speak even a broken Trumaí. Since the Suyá had no peaceful relations with the tribes of the headwaters, the Gê language was not widely known there. The other two foreign women merely understood Trumaí.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Aueti were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piqui* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[7] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuih*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[7] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [159] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gé-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[8] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- 171 yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[8] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahí was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

CHAPTER SIX

The Death of a Culture

Today there are but twenty-five remaining Trumaí. The fact that they disbanded once during the recent past shows that this small number approaches a critical point at which such a culture is no longer socially viable. If the present population trend continues, Trumaí society will definitely end, and, with the complete assimilation of the descendants of the Trumaí into other tribes, Trumaí culture, except for those elements of it that have been adopted by their neighbors, will belong to the past.

Primitive cultures and the populations that transmitted them are disappearing in many parts of the world today. In most instances, however, they are being destroyed by extended face-to-face contacts with Western society. This is not precisely the case with the Trumaí. Here, there was no large scale transmission of Western culture and no direct interaction with Brazilian society. But slight though the contact of the upper Xingú Indians with the whites was, it resulted in the introduction of respiratory infections that contributed greatly to their depopulation. In this sense, the white man is responsible for the impending death of the Trumaí.

Although the Trumaí were still carrying on their village life during Quain's residence and were to continue to do so, certain changes were taking place in their culture which were symptomatic of the fundamental instability induced by their low numbers.

It is immediately apparent that their weakness made the Trumaí vulnerable to other tribes, both the nominally friendly ones of the upper Xingú Basin, and the hostile ones of the surrounding country. In 1938 the Trumaí could not have successfully withstood a strong Suyá or Yuruna raid, nor could they have launched an attack upon the Suyá for women, as did the more vigorous Kamayurá. Indeed, the Trumaí had good reason to fear the least sound in the jungle at night.

Also, the Trumaí were held in low esteem by their immediate neighbors at the time of Quain's study. This was a severe blow to their *elan*, and it undoubtedly affected their self-image. It led, too, to more concrete results. As noted above, other tribes took Trumaí women during their most fertile years, and it is almost certain that the few "outside" women, who were brought into the Trumaí village through marriage, failed to restore the balance. Moreover, there were no "outside" men

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 163 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal [171] taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 82. [3] Wagley 1940.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayurá,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Y 123 241 /101 cont./ Wilhelm came across the Chief busy planting maize behind his hut; with a little stick he dug holes two to three inches deep and placed several kernels in them. When my cousin came along, the old man insisted that he plant the rest, an incident similar to my experience in the first Bakaïrí village.

Y 203 152 Soon afterwards great agitation suddenly broke out in the midst of the company. Wilhelm was led into the hut of the chief and found sitting there three newcomers who were staring darkly ahead while everyone was noisily talking at once and a few women were weeping. He could not make out what was happening and realized only that there had been bad news, the bearers of which were the three red-painted strangers. Only later in the flute-house was the news made intelligible to him with much pantomime. The bad Suyá had finally successfully carried out the plan to attack the Trumaí, for which they had sought our assistance in 1884. "Suyá Trumaí tok tok"; it was thus illustrated with lively gestures that the Suyá had struck down and overcome the Trumaí. It seemed that the former had pulled some of the Trumaí canoes toward them with hooks and tipped them over; arrows were shot at the swimmers, and others had their hands tied behind their backs.

Y [302] T 648

Y 203 101 The people who had brought the news were the Nahuquá living closest to the Trumaí, who were called Guikurú /Kuikuru/.

Y 122 On the forenoon of 11 October Wilhelm and Ehrenreich, whose indisposition was growing worse, returned to the harbor and rowed off on the morning of the 12th in order to catch up with me. Two of the Mehinakú, who lived below the Nahuquá and had correctly interpreted my disappearance, had already traveled after me the day before, but fortunately arrived a day later than I did.

000 /102/

III. To the Mehinakú.

Going ahead alone. Arrival and reception. Festival hut. Disturbed harmony and reconciliation. Prosperity. Flying ants. Ethnographic collection.

B 123 It had required some power of persuasion to induce Tumayaua and his companion, the "cab driver," who had fortunately once

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *[191] 197 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nauka SP18
Trumai SP23

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pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

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Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

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On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

Wauka SP18
Tahmai SP23

distributed gifts among our hosts, the Mehinaku begged that we give gifts also to the Trumai, who were a poor but good people.

Of all the groups met, the Mehinaku were the most pleasant and the most reliable. The incident of helping us to move down stream has been mentioned. Later, on making contact with the plane, we had occasion to test their intelligence and reliability further. Eight cases of aviation gasoline had been left on the sand beach where the disaster occurred; as we needed the gasoline, six Mehinaku went back and brought it to us in remarkably short time. [Plate XI, 1.]

In the morning, while some of the canoes were being patched, I visited the new village. Though only one house had been built, and it was not quite finished, a tall conical structure made of poles tied together at the top, housed a harpy eagle. I was told that that was the first structure put up. The house structure differed in no way from others that were subsequently seen in other villages, which will be described later.

The original village of the Mehinaku was on the west bank, but having exhausted the soil, they were moving to the east bank. They had a few beans and maize seed, which they were carefully keeping for planting.

With the help of these kindly disposed and gentle Mehinaku, we continued our journey down stream, meeting with groups of Aura and Auiti, and finally arrived at the mouth of the Kuluseu. In the morning some Tsuva brought us the news that the plane was several bends of the river away, and we hastened to it.

Our meeting with Johnson, Rossi, Lorber, Saucedo and Due was a happy occasion for everyone. While waiting for me, news had come to them about some white men, but our failure to put in an appearance caused them worry. Their food supplies having been almost exhausted, they had decided to fly back to Cuyabá, when we appeared.

On the sand bank where the plane was beached there were collected Anahukua, Auiti, Aura, Kamayula, Yawalapiti, Tsuva, Kuikuti, and Kalapalu, and we brought Mehinaku. Each group was jealous of the others and we had to distribute our favors equally.

Learning that I had lost my photographic equipment, Arthur P. Rossi, who had made the trip with the plane merely to take aerial photographs of the region, insisted in staying with me when the plane flew back to Cuyabá the next morning, even though the plane would not return for three weeks to bring us fresh supplies of food. Rossi was a welcome

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them. [50]

T 101 361 648

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kayahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakalu (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

B 101 829

The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Y 101 829 648

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi.

Y B 648